1. Old Chiriguano of Tumichá (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the lead band.

2. Kernapadyá, "captain" of the Cercuvií region near the middle course of the Pilcomayo River. (Photo. A.M.)

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Fig. 1. Old Indian from the Santa Rosa Mission (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari).

1: Métraux-50 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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142 242 301 302

1. Iwawasei, Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Caruruti (near the middle course of the Parapiti River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

1: Métraux--73 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate VI

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643 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Karnapadyú. Her cheeks are painted with kalasapa powder.

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2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Caruruti region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo. A.M.)

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [798] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Carurutí and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

[797] [798] Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/380 cont./ spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

/392 cont./

531 184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323 415 291 516 142 302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/392 cont./

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Fig. 63. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is ready to be superposed on the preceding one.

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first and foremost gasoline cans. Artistic ceramics have become the appanage of a few old women who are not founding a school and who

Fig. 64. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is placed on the preceding one and flattened between the thumb and the other fingers of the potter. Finger impressions result from this, forming a crude design.

will carry the secret of their art to the grave. Already today, obliged to satisfy a large demand, they endlessly repeat the same motifs and have a vexing tendency to draw them hastily and without any care at all. These designs are becoming awkward, crude, and are taking on a primitive appearance which is far from corresponding to the taste and culture of the Chiriguano.

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C
302 Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest
G of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after
T
[302] the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil,
the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior
C part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2,
[177] pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."

(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C
302 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tend-
198 ing to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C
[291] The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot
[248] their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of [301] long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 515 824 412 388 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds,

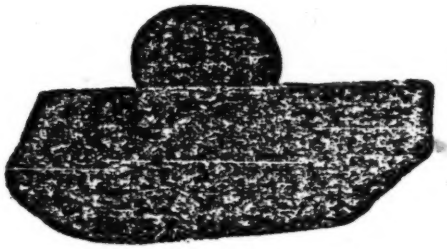

Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

/482 cont./

Judging from this text, the Chiriguano sorcerer, like his Tupinamba or Siberian colleague, put himself into a state of trance so that his spirit, free from corporeal bonds, could go to engage in battle with the soul of the evil-intentioned individual who is implacable against his patient.

The hupia, that is, the magical force, is indispensable to one who claims to be a good sorcerer. At least this is the meaning I give to this word translated in the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano etc. (p. 73) by: "remedy, antidote," but of which it is said that possession is indispensable to every medicine man. This word suffixed to any noun whatever expresses the faculty, the power, the facility to make or obtain the thing signified by the noun. Thus a dog trained to hunt deer is wasu-rupia (wasu: deer), a warrior is tuwaiso-rupia (tuwaiso: enemy), etc.

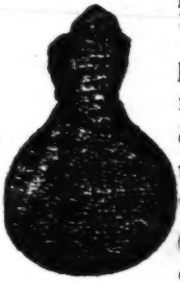

Fig. 137. Calabash containing snake fat. Prov.: Saladito. (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Remedies. 1. Snake fat (mboikira) is efficacious against leprosy. The Indians keep it in a small calabash sealed with wax (Fig. 137).

2. A little cotton impregnated with castor oil (yandî) and rubbed on the skin is an excellent liniment for rheumatism.

3. A similar virtue is attributed to chicken fat (Fig. 138). In everyday life they resort to chicken fat or castor oil to anoint the body, which they then rub with roucou paste. Women generally have their

Fig. 138. Section of bamboo containing chicken fat. Prov.: Caipipendí. (1/2 nat. size.)

/482 cont./

faces and legs oiled in this way, which gives them a very strange reddish and shiny hue. This custom, which was already noted /483/ in the sixteenth century among the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, is tending to fall into disuse.

Roucou in paste form is kept in a small corn-husk bag (Fig. 139), /Fig. 139 appears here/ as is kalasapa, a substance composed of a mixture of roucou and pounded aroma seeds, which gives a violet color.

4. Jaguar fat (yaguapira) cures any "leprosy" (karatši) if one rubs oneself with it after heating it.

5. Iguana fat makes cramps go away and heals wounds. Its use is external.

6. The dried penis of a fox makes toothaches and earaches go away. For that it suffices to touch the ailing part with the end /Fig. 140 appears here/ of this member. The Indians consider it very malodorous and touch it only with repugnance. To avoid this inconvenience they provide it with a handle and shut it up in a bamboo case (Fig. 141).

7. Deerhorns heated and /Fig. 141 appears here/ applied against the neck will cure a stiff neck. The medical use of deer (wasu) horns explains the frequent presence of the horns of this animal in the archeological strata of the neighboring Andean regions. Some have thus been found in the ruins of the Alfarcito, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 4, p. 21), at Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, p. 232), at La Paya (Ambrosetti, 6, Fig. 235, p. 453), and at Tastil (Boman, 2, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, Fig. 78 f).

Horns adhering to a fragment of the skull and whose use could only have been magical or medical must be distinguished from the ones which the Indians work into awls. These instruments still have a ritual use and are reserved for piercing the lower lip of children when they are old enough to wear the labret. At least this is what Campana (p. 80) informs us. Besides, the Indians all have confirmed this detail to me. Formerly, the Tupinamba of Brazil practiced this operation with an awl of the same nature (see Métraux, 3, p. 105).

1: Métraux--364 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Fig. 139. Small bag made of corn husks, containing roucou paste. Prov.: Salado grande (upper Pilcomayo). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

Fig. 140. Calabash containing roucou seeds. Prov.: Caipipendí. (About 1/5 nat. size.)

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Fig. 141. Case containing a fox penis (aguara-kankuy). Prov.: Ibopeytí. (About 1/3 nat. size.)

/486 cont./

757 824 237 some similar object and rubs the sick person's eyes with it until the cataract comes off.

30. The tannin contained in kurupaî bark is a disinfectant 752 757 824 which hastens the healing of wounds.

31. The leaves of kurupaîraî (small sébil), squeezed and put into compresses on a tumor, act in a lenitive way.

757 824 32. The plant wambero (kind of purslane) is a laxative. It has a scarlet flower which girls dry and pulverize to be able [304] to color their cheeks red.

33. Iwowi bark, pounded and roasted, is a good remedy for any pain affecting the limbs. The ash taken from the pips of this [752] tree hastens the healing of wounds.

34. Powdered inái seeds make teeth fall out.

35. The root of the isipo-poro-mboyi, ground and kneaded with salt and tallow, is an emollient which is spread on tumors.

36. When they feel pains in the limbs, the Chiriguano apply on the ailing part a poultice made of iva-wasu roots, crushed and roasted.

37. The seeds of the yandi-wasu, taken in doses of two or three, are a good emetic.

38. The sarái is a tree reminiscent of our walnut tree. Its inner bark yields a powder which is spread on skin eruptions.

39. A climbing plant called kaa-ruwa is supposed to have medicinal properties. /487/ It is taken in the form of an infusion, or poultices are made with it after it is pounded.

40. Another climbing plant, the kaa-tai (barba de chivato) is a very active caustic which can produce burns if the compresses made with its flowers, leaves, and twigs ground together and mixed with water are kept on too long. If the hands are rubbed with this plant, they become numb.

41. The roots of the shrub mboipina, well cooked, yield a broth which combats atrophy.

757 825 42. A species of bug (tambeyùa) is used in the native pharmacopoeia as a caustic.

757 271 43. The Chiriguano have great faith in the virtue of hot water. Every sick Indian has beside him a small vessel the size of an egg, full of hot water. Those who are attending him

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *c*). Originally, labrets were made of resin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "*é, é*" instead of the childish "*ú, ú.*"

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chané (1819 b, p. 282), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

824 /16 cont./
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[14] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading: when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it: it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the beaches or trunnes on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value: it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes: here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns, from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells: the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there: it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it: the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites: the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
224 its leaves are dark green: it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/17 cont./
and feet with them. as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand. many pods being boiled in an olla. and pastes of every size are made from the decoction. depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

The Bixa orellana. or "Urucu." as the Indians call it. is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission. Ismo. Parapiti. and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect. the wood is excellent. similar to oak in spite of being dark. and it is much used for making tuns. door and window casings. and even for barrels. In Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei." and the "Ivope" pod is long. compressed. and yellow; when it is ripe. it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times. and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod: the Toba. Chorote. Mataco. and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one. even its fruit is smaller. speckled in color. and sweeter than the true algarrobo. but not as abundant as the first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant. it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small. and it is called "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small. and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/23 cont./ some trees are covered with long sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional imperceptible sharp point: the fruit of both is pleasant and serves for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites, the ones who, rushing to get richmore quickly and easily, are little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland: it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Caranday," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some places open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to size and quality of seeds: I know five kinds. Castor oil is extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cauiro," and the oil, "Tandi." Even the leaves of the palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool; thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

A [i.e. nopal tree. -Arch.]

4: Nino--104 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Tapiete 5413

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Man of the Tapiete race on the Pilcomayo River between Guachalla and Esteros de Patiño.

4: Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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516

Group of Chiriguano Women

/111 cont./

141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would really be orangutans (1).

[186]

1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force, this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/178 cont./

372
[773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of water, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

224
372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demon, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356
[362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. The
[515]
[362] Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (2).

[362] 2. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Cacique Güiraesa with His Family

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the [186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

Clothing

• 302 The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it 301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it 302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother, [286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, [177] but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions.
302 The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana
[197] /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[197] [114] [121]

1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter
294 is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandai;
285 they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect
292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older
554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).

291 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap,
302 the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of
304 long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in
178 few places now, and the straw hat is being

/188 cont./

291
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replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal; the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

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[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair; nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha poha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /189/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mboivera (1).

302

[178]

1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

291
[171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

/192 cont./

Adornments

500

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy.

[178]

[text continues on p. 267]

/193 cont./

302 137 824 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[527]

1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

[531]

/194 cont./

● 302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [527] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

[286] 297 386 [824]

2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

[437] [178]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[529] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

/210 cont./

846 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of
178 the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846
302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is
844 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some
785 authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the
785 superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but
844 when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying,
178 they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
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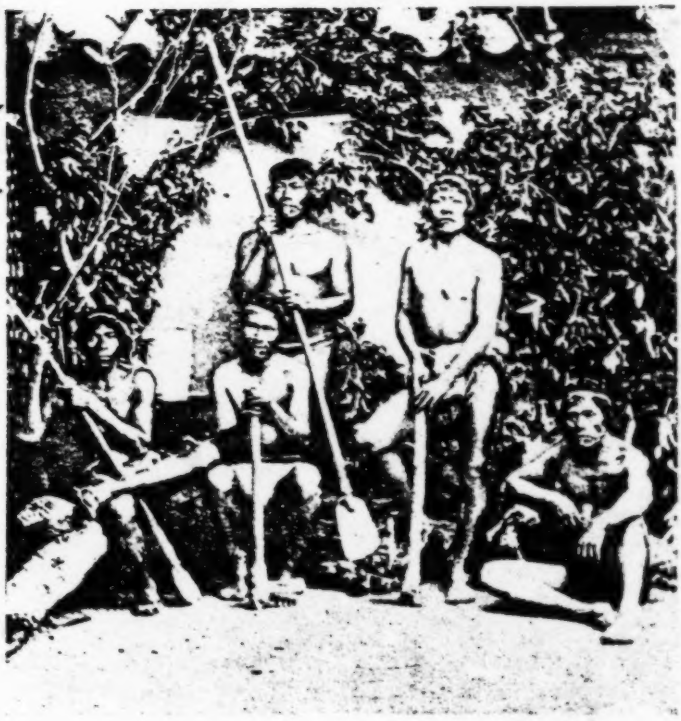
412



Group of Indian Workers

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangüi appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

• [302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527] [596]

1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, [302] and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/275 cont./

411 [492] Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows, use the lance: it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say, cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy. 534 926 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on the enemy town, they use the Igñiramimbi, a wooden musical instrument, the Semene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

922 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as querremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

926 704 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the igñiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them, [292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and querremba, don their garb, some the [714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the [411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they [302] will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally, they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of demons would not frighten even the dead!

11

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest [785] relatives staying to weep. Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for [302] three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is [826] not on the grave, but away. They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

766 765 1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. The souls of [775] those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/294 cont./

765 589 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatsoever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole [302] day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long 589 765 597 302 time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe: otherwise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation, and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much: they would take the children whom she loves so much away from her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 589 [292] As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she has in the house and puts it on her head: she wears this during the entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yaritu died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her action, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/295/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

/296 cont./

765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead: he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death: she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to: they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

• [302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters: she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

589 581 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

789 936

Schwabenkolleg E-6,7 (1900-1909. 1913) 1910
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

71 C 332 347 1962

Fig. 23. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiköipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DEWEY, NEVEU, URLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 23)

Schneedenkfild E-4(1908-1909, 1913) 1930
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF1
Aymara SF5

No

		Closeness of body	Closeness in and around the ankle	Size of thumb (length, circumference, ratio)	Skill in art
Ashluslay	Ill Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	3
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	3	3	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	0
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	3	3	1
Chiwo	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	2	3	3	1
Chané (Ilyapre)		3	4	3	4
" (Paraguay)		4	4	3	3
Chimáne	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	2	3	1
Chiriguano		3	4	3	4
Chorotí	Ill Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	2
Guarayú (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guarayú	Tropical forests,				
Panoreo	Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huatyuan	"	4	4	4	1
Huarí	"	3	4	3	1
Ikiaro	Ill Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Itoje	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	3	3	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	3
Tambopata-Guayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	Ill Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	2	1	1
Tacuara	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tavacire	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

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SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

seen in the villages about the upper Rio Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, »put up», and kept in place with a frontlet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west.

The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have already pointed out in Part I.

The Chané have »stick-combs», »Stäbchenkämme» and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the doublesided ones of the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Choroti and the Ashluslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments.

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called »boivéra». They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pincers.

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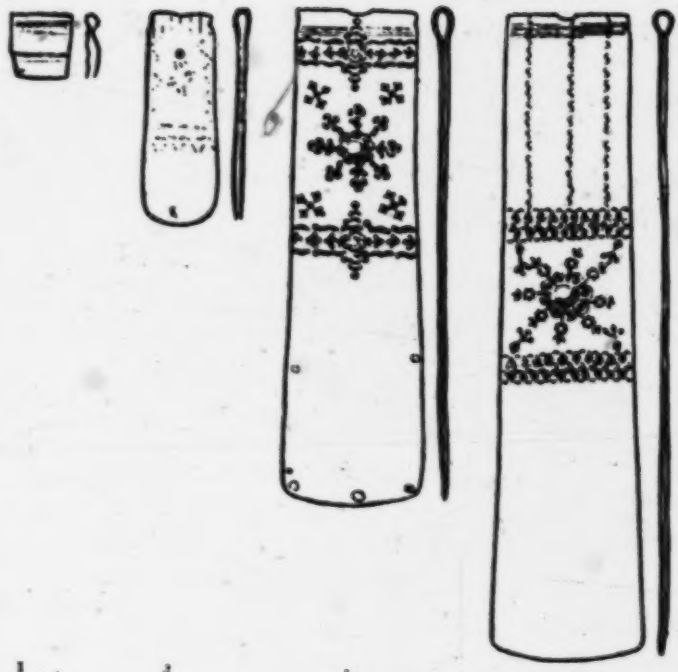

Fig. 26. 1/2.

1) Implement of tin for removing hair. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 396.
2) » » silver » » » also used as breast ornament. Chiriguano. R. M. E. 378.
3) Breast ornament of silver. » » 374
4) » » » » » » 370.

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cers. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) Nino is also of the opinion that the »bolvéra» is not of Indian make. P. 196.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 μ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a mere breast ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian smiths or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the »boivéra» an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ? Caipipendi. 1/1.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture zone in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Painting the face with »urucu» is rather general here. The custom of painting the face prevails or has prevailed among most tribes in S. America and the red colour of Bixa Orellana (Urucu) is greatly appreciated where it can be had.

The »Genipa» is not used. It is possible that the genipa will not grow as far south as the Chiriguano and the Chané land.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,V (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

XIV.

Stained Teeth.

It was already related by VIEDMA[1]) that the Chiriguano stain their teeth. I have seen Chiriguano women in the Caipipendi valley stain their teeth a blackish blue with the leaves of a plant called »tajú». LASCH has made a study of the custom of staining the teeth among S. American Indians. He speaks of this custom from Cumaná, quoting GOMARA, according to which author the women stained their teeth at the death of their husbands.[2]) He further mentions that this custom prevails among the Miraña,[3]) the Piro,[4]) the Goajiro[5]) and the Arawaks[6]) in Guiana. To this I can, as shown by the map and table below, make several additions.

[1]) P. 181.

[2]) I have looked through all available editions of GOMARA in order to find this statement, but in vain. What I have been able to find about stained teeth in GOMARA P. 205—206 I give here.

»Préciance de tener muy negros los dientes, y llaman mujer al que los tiene blancos, como en Curiana . . . . Hacen negros los dientes con zumo ó polvo de hojas de árbol, que llaman ahi los cuales . . . . . a los quince anos, cuando comienzan á levantar la cresta toman estas yerbas en la boca, y traenlas hasta ennegrecer los dientes como el carbon; dura despues la negrura toda la vida.»

[3]) From MARTIUS.

[4]) » RAIMONDI.

[5]) » WAITZ.

[6]) » MARTIUS (1). He writes. T. 1, P. 691, »Schwärzung der Zähne, die GOMARA, Cap. 73. von den alten Cumanesen angiebt soll hier auch vorgekommen sein.» This statement seems so vague, that I have not indicated it on the map. As far as I know it is not confirmed by other authors writing on the same Indians.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians S3

Table 9.

The distribution of stained teeth. Map 8.

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4. Chiriguano, VIEDMA P. 181. Men and woman.

4L. Caxinaua, CAPISTRANO DE ABREU P. 459.

5L. Indians north of Peru, POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253. Men.

34. Jivaro, HERMESSEN P. 440, Men.

36. Ijca, BOLINDER (4) P. 114. Men.

39. Goijiro, WAITZ Vol. 3, P. 373.

46. Conibo, RAIMONDI P. 667. See also CASTELNAU Vol. 4, P. 568.

61. WHIFFEN P. 88. »Among the Orahone, and also among some of the Içа and Yapurá Indians, the women cover their teeth and their finger-nails with a black pigment. The paint is never allowed to work off entirely, fresh designs being superimposed before the original has quite disappeared.»

70. Piro, RAIMONDI P. 667. The Piro is also called »Chontaquiro». Chonta = black wood, quiro = tooth.

71. Sipibo, Setebo, RAIMONDI P. 667; SMYTH and LOWE P. 211 write about the Indians in Sarayacu: »but their custom of staining their teeth dark blue, with a plant they call mucumucu, produces a very disgusting effect on their countenance.» The Indians in Sarayacu were Panos, Setebos, Conibos, Shipebos and Sencis.

99. CUMANOGOTO, GOMARA P. 405; BENZONI P. 4, 9. »They make a certain mixture to preserve the teeth, with oyster shells of the sort that produce pearls, burning them with the leaves of the *laxi*, and then adding a little water, so that the mixture looks like the whitest lime; and this they spread over the teeth, which become black as charcoal».

LAS CASAS V. 63, P. 436. »Vieron ellos tambien, y yo despues que acostumbran los hombres traer en la boca cierta hierba todo el dia mascando, la que, teniendo los dientes blanquisimos comunmente, se

[text continues on p. 88]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

South American Indians 53

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Map. 8. The distribution of stained teeth.

● = Intentional staining of the teeth. ○ = Teeth stained black by chewing coca and lime.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5, (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

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les ponen una costra en ellos más negra que la más negra azabaja que puede ser;» Las Casas speaks of the expedition of PER ALONSO NIÑO Y CHRISTÓBAL GUERRA 1499.

MARTYR P. 368. »Between the ages of ten to twelve years when puberty declares itself, they chew, all day long, leaves of trees, as thick as a nut, taking no other food nor drink. With this substance they blacken their teeth till they are the colour of a dead coal. They contemptuously call the Spaniards women and children, because the latter like to have white teeth; or likewise wild animals, because they let their hair and beards grow. Their teeth last a lifetime and they are ignorant of the aches which sometimes oblige us to have our molars removed. Their teeth never decay». (The Eighth Decade)

RUIZ BLANCO P. 58, medicine-men. »dos calabacillas en una traen una yerba tostada que llaman a y o, que mascan y es buena para la dentadura, y en otra una calecilla con que ponen los dientes negros.»

SIMON (1) P. 316.

1 c. Paez, MANUEL RODRIGUEZ P. 25. »Mascan continuamente, aquella su yerva diabolica, la *coca*, de que tienen negros como una pez los dientes» . . . . . .

6 P. Aguaruno, MURO P. 199.

4 S. Mirafia, MARTIUS (1) Vol. I, P. 536. Men

9 S. Maynas, CHANTRE Y HERRERA P. 63. »Firme la dentadura y por todo igual, cuando no la dañan con el mascar continuo hierbas de zumo negro; es sumamente blanca y la conservan hasta la vejez. Tienen, algunas naciones, por adorno y por moda tenir los dientes y labios de color negro, y á este fin, mascan hierbas y tallos cuyo zumo mezclado con ceniza que meten en la boca, hace, con el beneficio de la saliva, un negro que dura por muchos dias. Mas, no contentos con una tintura, dan á lo menos cada dos dias este barniz

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,N (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
South American Indians 53

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á dientes y labios para conservarlos así más lustrosos. Causa grima el ver cómo refriegan los labios con lo más áspero de la hoja del maiz para quitar el tinte antiguo hasta desollarlos, y echar sangre para que de esta manera asiente mejor el nuevo, y brille más por fresco y reciente.»

IX. Colorado, RIVET (3) P. 188.

(70.) Manobamba (Yanaximes), BALBOA Chap. 8; SARMIENTO P. 96. »Conquisto TOPA INGA y sus capitanes desta vez cuatro grandes naciones. La primera fué la de los indios llamados Opataries y la otra llamado Manosuyo y la tercera se dice de los Manaries o Yanaximes que quiere decir los de las bocas negras.» Yana = black, simi = mouth. Near Cuzco, not marked on the map. Possibly identical with Piro (70).

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BOLINDER, who has observed that the Ijca's teeth are stained black by their chewing coca and lime,[1]) has advanced the opinion that the staining of teeth among the Cumanogoto may not have been purposely done, but caused by the lime that was chewed with coca. I believe that BOLINDER may be right in this supposition. As early a writer as RUIZ BLANCO[2]), who lived in many years in Cumaná, considered that the lime chewed with coca was the cause of blackened teeth.

In N. Peru[3]), where lime is chewed with coca, the Indians have black teeth. In the rest of Peru, where coca is chewed with the ashes of quinua-haulm and other plants, the Indians' teeth do not get black from coca chewing. This corroborates the assumption of BOLINDER that the teeth of the Cumanogoto were blackened by the lime they chew-

[1]) (4) P. 122.

[2]) P. 52.

[3]) »Without doubt the lime destroys the teeth and consequently the Peruvian »coqueros» have disgustingly black and carious rows of teeth.» POEPPIG Vol. 2, P. 253.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

● 302 ed with coca. The teeth of the Paez were also blackened
276 by coca-chewing. Most likely this holds good of the Goa-
*171 jiro too. We ought, therefore, to distinguish between two regions, viz., one where the Indians get black teeth by chewing coca-leaves with lime, and another where they purposely stain their teeth blue or black. The latter must be renewed after a time. the former, which is the result of coca-chewing with lime, lasts for life.

302 It is difficult to explain the geographical distribution
1 74 of the custom of staining the teeth. Perhaps the unintentional staining of the teeth is the original one, and has given
*171 rise to the intentional staining. One might suppose that the Indians who saw the »nice», black teeth of the coca-chewers wanted to appropriate the fashion, though they were not coca-chewers themselves, and consequently they stained their teeth dark.

That coca-chewers in Cumaná considered it elegant to have black teeth is obvious from what MARTYR says: »They contemptuously call the Spaniards »women and children» because the latter like to have white teeth.» »Women» is not exactly a title of honour among Indians.

One might imagine that staining the teeth was once fashionable within the civilized area of the Andes and that the custom has lived on in the border land after it dropped out of fashion in the place from which it originated. Staining the teeth is not a Guarani custom, so it must have [177] been only when the Chiriguano Indians reached their present place of abode that they learnt the custom.

It may also be assumed that the coca used to be chewed with lime all over the old civilized western area. If this is so, we ought to be able to prove it archaeologically, but, as far as I know, none of the skulls found in Peru or Bolivia have had teeth blackened and destroyed by using lime with the coca.

It is, however, a striking fact that intentional blackening of the teeth does not occur far from the Andine region

5tNordenskiöld E-8,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of civilization. This, at any rate, appears from the quotations here given; nor is it likely that blackening of the teeth in early post-Columbian times had a much greater distribution than is here indicated. I venture to affirm this since blackening of the teeth is one of those practices which would strike all travellers even from the time of the Conquest. Respecting such practices as have interested older writers we ought to be able to make very exact maps of their post-Columbian geographical distribution.

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referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

G S 823 The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so

G 823 considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in eastern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

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Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuĩpa.

G 823 step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

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As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

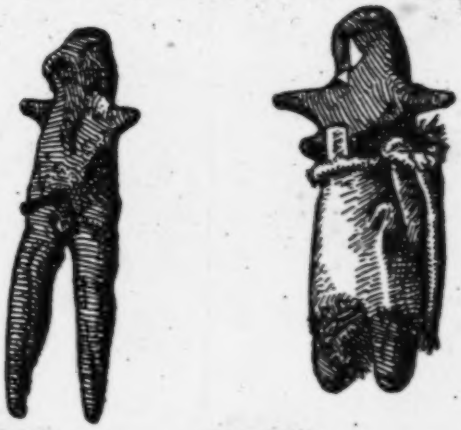

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

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custom of cutting the hair short, however, is becoming more prevalent, in order to be just as elegant as the whites. When they travel over stony or thorny ground, they wear sandals on their feet, like the women.

These Indians do not often paint themselves ordinarily. Sometimes one sees a woman who has painted her face red. The whites maintain that it means she is anxious to get married, or, if married, lascivious. I do not venture to say, however, that this is true. /Fig. 108 appears here./ The women also commonly paint a red line here or there on the face, or they simply paste a flower on each cheek. The men, too, sometimes paint the face and body red. As a great rarity I saw a couple of Chiriguano women who were tattooed on the arms (Fig. 108). In the Caipipendi valley the Chiriguano women have disgusting habit of blackening

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Fig. 106. Chané woman from the Rio Parapiti, clothed in "tiru."

their otherwise white and sound teeth. Viedma says that the Chiriguano men were in the habit of painting their teeth blue.

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Cleanliness

The Chané and Chiriguano are very clean. As has been said, they start the day with a bath and then often bathe several times in the course of the day. This cleanliness is strange among tribes who often live in regions such as, for example, the Caipipendi valley, where a great shortage of water prevails. During the dry season they can never take a bath there, but the

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Fig. 107. Facial painting. Chiriguano.
Itapenbia. Red color.
A and B = men. C and D = women.

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women at least wash their bodies thoroughly every morning.

/204/ The contrast which is evident here in the zeal for cleanliness on the part of the various tribes may be explained, in my opinion, by their migrations. The Chorotí, Ashluslay,

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and Matsco, who still in part dress in fur cloaks, seem to me, like the Fuegians and Patagonians, to have immigrated to the Chaco from the cold pampas in the south where washing was extremely unpleasant, whereas the Chiriguano and Chané come from the north, out of the warm, humid, virgin forests, from the great rivers, where bathing was always pleasant and refreshing. Now, where /Fig. 109 appears here/ they live under the same climatic conditions, the former have preserved their dirt, the latter their cleanliness.

Im Thurn (1) reports that the Indians in Guiana bathe

1. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883.

Fig. 108.
Woman's tattooed arm. Chiriguano.
Itapembia.

immediately after eating, without any harm to them. I often observed the same thing here.

The Chiriguano and various Chané shampoo the head with the seeds of "yuanfra," which they grind. For the same purpose the Chané on the Rio Parapiti use the bark of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./, "yleg." The nails, and /205/ not least the toenails, are also very carefully tended. For combing they use combs carved in wood or made out of sticks of cane tied together.

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When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarãti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grown older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

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If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

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If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

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The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/

Chapter Thirteen

800 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

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The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Chorotí. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vallyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Río Itiyuro, Tenüri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Macharetí, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yenira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yendugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yendugua. I did not even see the rest.

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

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Fig. 1901. Woman in front of her hut. In the foreground, a hollowed out trunk [illegible] the latter is used in the preparation of chicha, an intoxicating beverage. Chiriguano. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

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Fig. 1902. Men in the periphery of the circular construction in the Chiriguano village of Ivirizu. In right foreground, a hollow used as going in the production for maize. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

(488) [p. 194 is blank]

been imitated from the Europeans. The Chiriguano also sleep in hammocks made of cotton yarn, and on reed mats and skins spread on the ground. Stools for sitting on I have not observed among the Chiriguano. They do, however, possess such articles of furniture,[1] which, however, must be of considerable rarity. Along the walls of the hut will be seen an orderly array of cooking and roasting pots, water pitchers, and pots for maize beer, arranged in rows, often of exceedingly beautiful shape and with painted decoration (figs. 217—225). From wooden hooks in the roof are hanging bunches of maize cobs, pumpkins or other foodstuffs; arrows, bows, and other gear. From the roof there are also suspended clay bowls (figs. 224 and 225), used as repositories for smaller articles of value. Clothing, ornaments, and such like, are also stored in large clay jars placed on the ground. As bowls there are also used the scaly skin of armadillos, and calabashes (fig. 226).

Fig. 192. Man and young woman. Chiriguano. San Luis, Bolivia. Phot. E. v. R.

Outside every hut there is, as I mentioned, a fireplace which is generally used for cooking the food, unless the weather makes this impossible. The huts, as well as the open spaces between them, are kept particularly neat and clean. They are swept every day, and the sweepings are burnt. The huts are practically always free from vermin.

The Chiriguano men nowadays generally wear shirt and trousers of European cut (fig. 194). The poncho shirt is, however, still to be met with among this tribe[2], but only very rarely, and I have never personally

[1] [illegible] (18), p. 163 and fig. 83 (18), pp. 15 and 16, and fig. 3.
[2] [illegible] (18), p. 39.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

1 [footnote 1 appears on p. 200 - - An.]

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

302 The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196). [462] Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

[386] Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting [824] the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red 302 spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the 304 other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

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Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (»tembeta»), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (19), pp. 83, 85 and (15), pp. 187—188.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain. 301

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects. [437]

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

[772] [789]

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or 301 174 412 [302]

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
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Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya. Bolivia. 1/2. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

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[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 81—83, 90 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (10), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (10), fig. 211.

8: Schmidt--9 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate II

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Fig. 3
(I. C. 354) -- Chiriguano in Machareti

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Fig. 4
(I.C. 359) -- Chiriguano women in Machareti

8: Schmidt--26 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/12 cont./

000 I.C. 246. Izozó cacique with his family. Near Toledo. (Fig. 12.)
I.C. 249. Izozó man with tembetá /labret/. Near Toledo. (Fig. 27.)
I.C. 251. Izozó in Toledo with soldiers and the author. (Fig. 2.)
I.C. 330. Izozó men. Near Toledo. (Fig. 9.)

C 144 648 Ce 648 From the preceding historical sketch it can be seen that the ethnic entity "Chiriguano-Chané," with regard to its physical characteristics, is made up of an ethnic mixture of absolutely heterogeneous elements. We have told how the Chiriguano for centuries captured many prisoners, incorporating them into their community, and how at the end of the 16th century the number of Chané incorporated among them was much larger than that of the pure Guaraní-Chiriguano. Although the Chané, belonging to the linguistic group of the Aruacos /Arawak/, were a peaceful nation and were not equal in strength to the pure Chiriguano, their culture, which for a long time was in contact with that of the ancient Peruvians, was doubtless superior to that of their oppressors, and the Chané women surely had considerable influence on their masters. Since the two population elements lived together for three and a half centuries, we must suppose that they would have mixed extensively.

C 42 195 Unfortunately, the ancient documents say very little about the physical qualities of the Chiriguano. The only brief note on this subject that I know of is found in the "Descripción y población de las Indias" by Bishop Lizarraga (44): "They are

44. Moreno II, p. 101.

C [302] comely, robust, with broad-shouldered, high chests, well built, dark. They pluck their eyebrows and eyelashes; the eyes are small and lively." According to Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883, that is, a short time after the Chiriguano lost their independence because of the whites and the Chané began to become emancipated from their oppressors, forming their own towns, somatic differences between the

8: Schmidt--28 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate III

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Fig. 5
(I.C. 360)--Chiriguano women with babies in Machareti

Fig. 6
(I.C. 335)--Chiriguano men in Machareti

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Fig. 7
(I.C. 361)--Chiriguano boys in Machareti

Fig. 8
(I.C. 362)--Chiriguano children in Machareti

8: Schmidt--57 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

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/23 cont./

Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, p. 286.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

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100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, Berlin, 1929, p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1, Fig. 85. Métraux 1, pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

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Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

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102. Nord. 1, p. 203.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

103. Nord 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 83, Fig. 27.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

C /23 cont./
C 302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

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104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

Ee 301 304 174 With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this Gi 301 172 tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

Ee 301 174 The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We Ee [199] [325] can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians. /24/ since they *did not know the technique of working metal and even today* C 301 most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

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107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition. Vol. 8, Paris, 1781. p. 328. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

8: Schmidt--65 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/25 cont./

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Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

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114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

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At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

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Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 647 shown in Fig. 55a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

/26 cont./

C 301 One head ornament used by the Chiriguano women at festivities and as a special mark of distinction is still to be mentioned. This ornament, described by Nordenskiöld, is made up of a forehead band with a long pendant tied to the back part as decoration (117).

117. Nord. 2, pp. 92 and 93 and Fig. 28.

C Ce 302 The Chiriguano and Chané men today in most cases wear their hair in the modern fashion, cut short. The two Chiriguano boys shown in Figure 7 are even wearing a side part with rodete /hair arranged on the top of the head/, perhaps Ce 302 especially prepared for the photograph. The hair of the Izozó boy shown in Figure 11 is rather long on the front part of the head, but the hair has been cut in the back and on the sides as well. C 302 Only the older men, and, according to Nordenskiöld, in the Chiriguano towns of the upper Pilcomayo River the young men as well (118), wear the hair long and wrapped in a special

118. Nord. 1, p. 202.

manner around the head. Lehmann-Nitsche (119) reports to

119. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

us specifically on this hair style of the old men as follows: "Their hair had apparently never been cut and was combed in a special manner: after it had been thrown to the back, they would part it into two halves with their hands, to the right and to the left, respectively, then the right half is brought forward and wrapped toward the left around the head in the form of a Moslim turban, while the left half is wrapped C around the other way." The rodetes of the Chiriguano men [301] described by Lehmann-Nitsche were tied up with ordinary Ce handkerchiefs. Among the Izozó I found some narrow bands 301 /27/ which were used especially for this purpose, and 302

Ce 301 302 /27 cont./
Nordenskiöld shows in a photograph a Chané man with such a band (120). According to information in the Annuae

C 302 171

120. Nord. 1, Plate 20.

litterae Societatis Jesu of the year 1605, the Chiriguano men previously wore a tonsure like that of the Guaraní in Paraguay and the Tupinambá on the Brazilian coast: "Coronis in modum nostrorum sacerdotum utuntur" /coronal in the style of our priest/ (121).

121. Métraux I, p. 467.

Ce 301

Men's Hair Bands

I. A. 653-660. (Izozó), woven of cotton. (Fig. 30: I. A. 660, 653, 655, 656.)

The average length of these men's hair bands measures about one meter. The longest is 1.18 meters and the smallest 0.91 meters. Although the length of all of these bands is almost the same, there are quite big differences in their width, the width varying between 1 cm. and 3.3 cm. The narrowest of these bands were woven plain, without decorations, and are in part white, in part later dyed with blue, red, or blue-gray dye. The two widest bands, 3.0 and 3.3 cm. wide, respectively, show simple ornamentation produced by the weaving. I shall deal with the details of the technique of this weaving and its ornamentation in the chapters on weaving and art.

Beside these bands woven out of cotton, the Izozó have men's hair bands which are longer and wider and woven out of human hair, ending in fringes at the two ends.

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/28 cont./ The main difference between the Chané combs and the combs of the Chaco tribes is that the teeth of the latter are made of little sticks of cane, and the teeth of the former, of little sticks of any other kind of wood. The /29/ wooden teeth of the Izozó comb in our collection are between two flat little sticks of cane vertical to them, and on the handle end, between the little sticks whose lower parts form the teeth, shorter little sticks have been inserted, so that at the lower part of the comb there is a certain distance between the teeth. The lacing, consisting of cotton threads, covers the upper part of the comb as far as the edge, but also slightly covers the lower part which forms the teeth. The lacing is not secured with wax.

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Ce [284]

With respect to hair care, we still must mention the data of Nordenskiöld and of Métraux (127) /see footnote 127 above/ to the effect that the Chiriguano and some of the Chané rub their hair with "Nyantéra" seed ("ñitira," according to Métraux), and the Chané of the Parapití with the rind of the mistol /Zizyphus mistol/, "yuag."

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From Father Lizárraga's description (128), we know that

128. Moreno II, p. 101.

Ce 302 178 [171]

the Chiriguano and Chané in the past plucked out the hairs of the body, except from the head, as do most of the Indians of South America. Father Lazarraga /sic/ says that the Chiriguano plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes. This custom does not exist today, and the photographs of nude Chiriguano men shown by Lehmann-Nitsche (129) show that today as a general

129. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Fig.

rule they do not remove hair from the pubic regions. Also one meets today some middle-aged men who have mustaches, such as the cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 10 and some of the Chiriguano men shown in drawings by Lehmann-Nitsche (130).

130. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates VIII-X.

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/29 cont./
Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131).

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

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The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

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132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/86 cont./

CC 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C CC 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattire," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 226.

/87 cont./

The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must go on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

339. Métraux I, p. 325, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. I, p. 218.

We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. I, p. 211.

Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. I, p. 178.